

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 207979
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INFO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY GABORONE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 207979

EXDIS-FOR YOUNG AND MOOSE FROM MAYNES AND HARROP

E.O. 11652:GDS

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PAGE 02 STATE 207979

TAGS: PORG, SF, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: ADDITIONAL PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA

1. WE HAVE BEEN WORKING AGAINST THE CONTINGENCY THAT
SOUTH AFRICAN/RHODESIAN RESPONSE TO UK/US INITIATIVE
ON RHODESIA WILL BE GENERALLY UNSATISFACTORY AND THAT

FRONT-LINE STATES WILL THEN LOOK TO US TO APPLY THE PRESSURE NECESSARY TO PERSUADE VORSTER AND SMITH TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE RE-EXAMINED THE VARIOUS MEASURES WHICH WE HAVE CONSIDERED WITH THE BRITISH IN THE PAST ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE MAY HAVE TO IMPLEMENT THEM QUITE SOON. WE BELIEVE THAT YOUR CURRENT MISSION WITH OWEN PROVIDES EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THIS MATTER WITH BRITISH IN ORDER TO REACH RAPID AGREEMENT ON NEXT STEPS.

2. MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO.

AS NEARLY AS WE CAN TELL FROM THE RECORD AVAILABLE TO US, OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BRITISH ON A

MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO CONCLUDED WITH THE BRITISH PREFERRING A TWO-STEP PROCEDURE AND OUR POINTING OUT THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO SEE THIS TELESKOPED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL INTO A SINGLE STEP. IN ADDITION, THE BRITISH POINTED OUT SOME POSSIBLE CONFLICT WITH SUCH A RESOLUTION AND OUR NATO OBLIGATIONS. WE FAIL TO SEE A CONNECTION BETWEEN SUCH A RESOLUTION AND OUR NATO OBLIGATIONS.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO PRESENTS THE BEST PROSPECT FOR RAPID ACTION. SOUTH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 207979

AFRICA WOULD HAVE TO TAKE IT SERIOUSLY BOTH BECAUSE OF ITS EFFECT ON SAG'S ACCESS TO ARMS MARKETS, AND BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE TO SEE IT AS A PRECEDENT FOR SIMILAR ACTIONS IN OTHER AREAS. MOREOVER, SINCE THE MAJOR SUPPLIERS ALREADY HAVE VOLUNTARY ARMS EMBARGO, WE ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT MARKET LOSSES BUT A CHANGE IN LEGAL APPROACH. ISRAEL WOULD BE AFFECTED BUT DAYAN HAS SAID ISRAEL WOULD OBSERVE A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. THERE ARE THREE TACTICAL ASPECTS TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARMS EMBARGO WHICH YOU MIGHT WANT TO RAISE WITH OWEN:

-- US AND UK AMBASSADORS IN PRETORIA COULD ADVISE BOTHA, PERHAPS WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK, THAT WE ANTICIPATE A MOVE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO IMPOSE UNDER EXISTING CHAPTER VII AUTHORITY A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICA SPECIFIC TO RHODESIA AND THAT IN VIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RELUCTANCE TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON RHODESIA, THE UK AND US MAY FEEL OBLIGED TO GO ALONG WITH SUCH A MOVE.

-- THE US AND UK COULD INITIATE IN THE SECURITY

COUNCIL A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST NATIONS PASSING ARMS TO RHODESIA (AND TAILOR THEIR PRESENTATION TO BOTHA ACCORDINGLY).

-- US AND UK COULD CHOOSE TO MOVE THROUGH OTHER PARTIES. THE PROBLEM HERE IS THAT IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO FIND GOVERNMENTS WILLING TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THE ABSENCE OF OVERT US AND UK IDENTIFICATION WITH THE MOVE. IN THE END, WE BELIEVE, US AND UK WILL HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE THEMSELVES.

3. ACTION IN CORE GROUP.

WE ARE REPEATING TO YOU STATE 206694 INSTRUCTING
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PAGE 04 STATE 207979

USUN TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS TO FORM A CORE GROUP OF RHODESIA'S MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS. YOU MAY RECALL THAT WE DISCUSSED THE IDEA OF THE CORE GROUP WITH THE BRITISH SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST. GRAHAM, AT THE END OF JULY IN WASHINGTON, TOLD US THAT THE UK WAS AGREE-ABLE TO THE IDEA BUT PREFERRED TO SEE THE GROUP BEGIN ITS WORK TOWARDS THE END OF AUGUST. ASSUMING THAT US/UK EFFORTS TO COORDINATE THE FORMATION OF A CORE GROUP PROCEED EXPEDITIOUSLY, WE MAY BE IN A POSITION DURING THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 5 TO PERSUADE ITS MEMBERSHIP TO UNDERTAKE WITH US INDIVIDUAL BUT COORDINATED DEMARCHES TO SAG, PERHAPS ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: BEGIN DRAFT TALKING POINTS:

A. AS THE SAG IS AWARE, MY GOVERNMENT HAS SUPPORTED THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT LED BY THE UK, WITH ACTIVE US PARTICIPATION, TO SECURE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA.

B. MY GOVERNMENT HAD HOPED THAT THE SAG WOULD USE ITS VERY GREAT INFLUENCE IN SALISBURY TO PERSUADE THE SMITH REGIME TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS PREPARED BY THE UK AND THE US.

C. UNFORTUNATELY, THE SAG HAS NOT USED ITS INFLUENCE TO THIS END, A FACT WHICH MY GOVERNMENT VIEWS WITH DISAPPOINTMENT AND CONCERN. THIS CONCERN IS SHARED BY A GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF -----, AND POPULAR PRESSURE IN ----- IS STEADILY GROWING FOR TAKING STRONG MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

D. THE SAG IS WELL AWARE THAT PRESSURES ARE ALSO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 207979

GROWING WITHIN THE WORLD COMMUNITY FOR PUNITIVE ACTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. MY GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE INSENSITIVE TO SUCH PRESSURES, WHICH AIM AT MEASURES WHICH WOULD EFFECTIVELY ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

E. CONSEQUENTLY, THE GOVERNMENT OF -----
URGENTLY REQUESTS THE SAG TO RE-EXAMINE ITS POSITION ON THE RHODESIAN ISSUE AND JOIN IN THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO ESTABLISH MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

F. IF THE SAG IS UNWILLING TO ALTER ITS POSITION ON THIS MATTER, WE CAN ONLY FORESEE A DETERIORATION IN BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN -----AND THE SAG.

MOREOVER, THE CONTINUING ALIENATION OF THE SAG FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL BE BOUND TO HAVE PROFOUND IMPLICATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL FIELDS. END DRAFT TALKING POINTS.

OBVIOUSLY, THE FOREGOING APPROACH SHOULD BE CLOSELY COORDINATED WITH ANY SECURITY COUNCIL MOVES FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. WE ALSO ASSUME THAT SUCH APPROACHES TO SOUTH AFRICA, WHILE PRIVATE, WOULD SOON BECOME KNOWN AND TO THAT EXTENT WOULD BE USEFUL IN PERSUADING THE FRONT-LINE STATES THAT WE ARE IN FACT TAKING MEASURES TO INFLUENCE SOUTH AFRICA.

5. FOR LONDON AND USUN. YOU SHOULD REVIEW FOREGOING WITH UKUN AND FCO, MAKING CLEAR THAT YOU WILL BE LOOKING TO OWEN/YOUNG PARTY FOR INITIAL COORDINATION OF UK/US POSITIONS. FYI: EB IS UNDERTAKING A FULL REVIEW OF POSSIBLE ECONOMIC MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE USED TO PUT PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA AND WE HOPE TO BE IN A POSITION DISCUSS SUBJECT WITH BRITISH SHORTLY. END FYI.
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PAGE 06 STATE 207979

CHRISTOPHER

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